1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

When the milking is over, the buffaloes are driven to their grazing-ground, where they remain till the afternoon, when they return, often spontaneously, to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated. 234 857

While at the pasturage, one or two small boys are often in attendance to keep the buffaloes from straying beyond the proper grazing-ground.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 buffaloes) from a Badaga by doing so. Bets of this kind are
525 probably only made with Badagas, and betting is almost certainly not properly a Toda custom.

524 In addition to developed games, the Todas, and especially
857 the children, often play with mimic representations of objects from practical life. Near the villages I have seen small artificial buffalo-pens and fireplaces made by the children in sport. On the hill of Mirson, where the chief council used to be held, I found a small pen, well built and with a gate, and was assured that it was made in sport by the children only a few years ago. This hill is one on which there are many cairns and such mimic representations may possibly mystify some future archæologist.

524 The commonest toys with which the children play are little
764 imitation buffalo horns made of wood (see Fig. 35). In the
517 legend, the boy Kuzkarv played with such horns, and even little children in arms may be seen fondling these playthings. The horns are burnt with the body at the funeral ceremonies, but only at those of males, though this rule was infringed at the funeral of Sinerani. In the funeral lament for his wife Teitnir speaks of their playing with imitation horns and imitation bracelets, so that adults evidently amuse themselves in this way as well as children.

526 Another imitation sport I have often seen is that of boys
857 or youths hanging on the horns and round the necks of buffaloes exactly as is done when catching the animals at the funeral ceremonies. The skill shown at these ceremonies is probably the result of long practice in play of this kind.

Nearly all thes mes are connected in some way with the buffalo or the dairy, in some cases only remotely, as when the *menkars* of Nòdrs is used for the *narthpimi* game, while the *tukitthkars* may be kept by the dairy. Only one of the games so far described is wholly unconnected with the dairy, and this, the *eln* game, has a name which suggests that it has been borrowed.

517 Though the Todas have, as we see, a fair number of games, they are not much given to playing them. I never saw one of the more developed games in progress, and this formed a great contrast to my previous ethnological experience

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

in Torres Straits, where hardly a day would pass without seeing games being played.

The chief interest in the case of the Todas is the clear evidence they give of games arising owing to the sportive imitation by children of the more serious occupations of their elders. In some of these cases the games so arising are useful in providing the younger members of the community with practice in feats which they will in later life be called upon to perform.

RIDDLES

The Todas are very fond of riddles, which they call *werat*. The following are examples:—

Mors	*illâth*	*kurthâ,*	*poi*	*illâth*	*âdi?*	*Mâ,*	*nelu.*
Udder	without	milks,	mouth	without	drinks?	Rain,	earth.

I.e., What is it that gives milk without an udder, what is it that drinks without a mouth? Rain, earth.

Ûrk	*mors*	*illâth,*	*kâdak*	*kal*	*illâth,*	*athinu?*	*Kûdi,*
In (or to) village	udder	without,	in forest	leg	without,	what is it?	Hen,

pak.
snake.

Karâd	*makh*	*perâd*	*aiu,*	*perâd*	*makh*	*kerâd*	*ain?*	*Kûdr,*
Little	son	big	becomes,	big	son	little	becomes?	Horn,

kevi.
ear.

This riddle depends on a comparison of the horn and ear of the buffalo. The horn of the calf is very small, the ear is relatively large.

Pûv	*pâvadi,*	*kaim*	*kaimadi?*	*Tûf.*
Flower	does not blossom,	berry	does not ripen?	Fern.

Wârâdr	*nelu,*	*makh*	*pachtam,*	*pîr*	*drchtam,*	*ithithanithi*
Whole year	days,	son	begetting,		pregnant,	this is custom

ank? *Pishkimân.*
to it?

Pishkimân is a tree which bears flowers or is giving fruit the whole year round.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

but see that both convenience and good habits have been consulted in following these rules. CHAP. VIII.

Before eating, each member of the family takes a little of the food in his fingers, and raising it to the forehead says Swâmi[1]! Swâmi!' then places it on the ground as a present to bhumi tai[2] or mother earth. After meals these offerings are swept out of doors.

Before the Englishman came to the Nilagiris, and colonised the Todas' land, the country was full of game; hares, peafowl, partridge, jungle fowl, and numerous small birds, filled the secluded woods: deer of sorts, bison, and jungle-sheep roamed their open pastures: the tiger and leopard were common: and packs of the wild dog—chen nai[3]—running mute, hunted the largest deer with the unerring certainty of fate. The Toda buffalos, half-wild, had learnt to defend themselves, and their young by tactics, the offspring of their bravery and skill; forming a rough triangular phalanx, with the courageous and strong bulls at apex and flanks, and the females and young in the hollow of the base, they would face the common enemy, and charging him in a body, gore and trample him under foot. The Todas, confident in the prowess of these animals, leave them to be herded by mere striplings armed with light wands; knowing that the animals, and the children under their protection, would be perfectly safe.

Yet in the face of these attractions of sport: in the presence of considerable danger: and with the example of the brute creation before them, they have not adopted a weapon, even one so simple as a spear. They neither make nets, nor do they construct traps or pitfalls. They do not employ any of

[1] Swâmi = *lord*.

[2] Bhumi tai = *earth mother*. It appears likely that both the words and the practice have been copied from the Badagas.

[3] Chen = *red*, nai = *dog*. May not the French *chien* be derived from chen = *the red (one)*?

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

764 588 614 775 a boy of the Pan *modol*, which made her one of the clan for the after-world. She was consequently cremated at the Pan cremation ground, with a further display of grief and lamentation.

ADDENDUM

Observation of the children's behaviour

123 While having necessarily to question the Todas at times, principally in order to obtain explanations of things which could not simply be observed, but also in order to get as many results as possible within the few months that I was in the Nilgiris, I managed, all the same, to do quite a lot of pure observation of their everyday behaviour, without disturbing them too much, I think, by my alien presence. The very fact, however, that I was there, upset the family pattern of usual activities. This is a problem which I am sure other anthropologists have had to contend with, but for which I, for my part at least, found no really satisfactory solution. Thus, for instance, 123 the Melgarsh people, the Melgarol, very quickly discovered that I was interested in the children. They consequently would play them up for me 855 as much as they could as soon as I arrived. Sodup, who was really an ex- 159 ceptionally amusing and bright child, was specially singled out for this, and greatly encouraged to be "funny" in my presence. I believe, nevertheless, that he would have been the darling of Melgarsh anyhow, as many of his pranks, as far as I was concerned, were his own genuine invention and were definitely not suggested by those around him.

159 Some of the things he said and did were quite remarkable and of con- ●857 siderable psychological interest. Thus one day (May 2nd, 1949), he started off to tell how his father (Mutnarsh) was wonderfully skilled in the art of catching buffaloes by the horns (as is the practice at Toda funerals: see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 349). His mouth puckered up; his eyes flashing, and waving a small cane in his hand, he went on to show how he, Sodup, treated the calf which had been entrusted to his care. He said it drank too much milk and that he had to beat it to stop from doing so. Switching to an- other subject, he told us how a rat had made a hole in the house in which he lived, and how he had watched it go through that hole. He came back to the calf theme very soon after and began illustrating the way he beat the calf by running after the girls present: Pengelam, Mutmali and Nărshmali. Pretending to be very frightened, they ran away from him with laughter and cries, which were intended, of course, to encourage him even more. Sodam, his twin sister, looked on from her mother's side, with great round, frightened eyes.

After the funeral of his ill-fated little sister, Sodup indulged in the fol- lowing antics. He began by telling us that the surviving baby cried too much, and that it had better beware, as the other one had been taken away dead, by the scruff of the neck (?) to a funeral. Changing the subject abruptly, he said that his uncle Singarsh was too often in the bazaar and

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

not enough at home; he threatened to tie him to the house so that he be compelled to look more after the buffaloes. With gestures and cries, still wagging a stick in his hand, he showed how he would lead the buffaloes at the next summer migration to greener pastures. When an Indian visitor turned up to have a look at the Todas, he exclaimed that he was tired of visitors, and that they should not be allowed near the *mand* (the Indian looked at me for some time, and then, intrigued, asked: "What is this work?" which may or may not have provoked Sodup's remark). He pointed to my bungalow on the opposite hill, and said he wanted to go there. Then he picked up a bit of discarded tinfoil and ran about, throwing it into the air.

A few days later I found him in the same boisterous mood. He started pulling at the clothes of Singarsh and beating his legs, and when tired of his victim, had the effrontery to do the same to Karnos, which was quite unusual. Nobody really minded, however, and there was much laughter. He then set upon Kupidz, his grandmother, pulled her hair and bit her, and even tried to undress her. He endeavoured to throw stones at the on-looking women, but stopped short at that. He picked up the empty Glaxo tin, and loudly proclaimed that it was he who had bought it for the new baby in the bazaar.

One of the most difficult things to collect from the Todas was dreams. They somehow sensed that there was something intimate about these and would not disclose them, although they were quite willing to speak openly and publicly about sexual matters. During the whole time I was in the Nilgiris in 1949, I was only able to get Motsod to give me one of his dreams, an insignificant one; and to obtain another one from Sodup. This was to the effect that he dreamed that a big bear had taken his mother away, and that it had mauled her badly, so that she was bleeding profusely from the left shoulder (Erzigwuf fed her children mainly from the left breast, because it was "more convenient", she said). He saw the bear carry his mother past the Warthuttiarsh, on the left side. He said that he was not sorry at all. (I noted that when Sodup was "naughty", Erzigwuf threatened him by saying that he would be carried off by a bear.)

One other day (August 14th, 1949). Sodup astounded me during an afternoon session by suddenly exclaiming to me in English: "Hey! you bugger!" Asked where on earth he had learned this, Kanvarsathi said it was from British soldiers on leave from Madras, but considering that we were then in 1949, that the British left India in 1947, and that Sodup was only two and a half years old, either he had a remarkably retentive memory, or Kanvarsathi's explanation was not correct. Anyhow, Sodup seemed perfectly aware that this was a rude expression, not meant to please me.

The contrast between the twins was extremely marked. Sodam hardly ever left her mother, and preferred to stay indoors. Erzigwuf told me that she had been difficult in this way ever since it had been necessary to use force to vaccinate her some time ago. When scolded she would sulk for hours, while Sodup, who had made no difficulty about being vaccinated, "forgets at once". It was obvious that exteriorized aggression was a very marked component of the little boy's character. In a film which I made